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Archæological Notes on Pagan

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RICE EIGHT ANNAS

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES ON PAGAN

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Prefatory Note.

The ruins of Pagan cover a tract of country measuring 20 by 5 miles or an area of 100 square miles. The monuments, which are now in all stages of decay, were erected during 12 centuries, from 108 to 1291 A.D., when Pagan was the capital of Burma. The present walled city of Pagan was built by Pyinbya, the 33rd king of the dynasty, in 847 A.D., when the capital was transferred from Tampawadi, which is now known as Pwazaw, and which was built by Thaik-taing, the 12th king. There were two other capitals, namely, Thiyipyitsaya, built by Thinligyaung, the 7th king, and Paukkan (Yônhlutkyun), built by Thamôkdayit, the Founder of the dynasty, in 108 A.D.

The majority of the pagodas were built between 1057 A.D. and 1284 A.D., during the reigns of Anawrata, Kyanzittha, Alaung-sithu, Narapatisithu, and Tayokpye Min ("The King who fled from the Chinese"). In the latter year, the Pagan Empire, which extended from the Gulf of Martaban to the borders of Southern China, and from the Bay of Bengal to Cambodia, was shattered and subverted by the Mongols and Chinese under Kublai Khan. Just before that invasion, the Burmese King had dismantled 1,000 large *stupas*, 10,000 smaller ones, and 4,000 square temples, in

order to obtain materials for building a strong fortification extending from Palin to Ywatha. Marco Polo speaks of Mien or Pagan as "a great and noble city, the head of the Kingdom," and describes two towers built in pyramid fashion, which are certainly pagodas, for "upon the top, round about the balls, many little gold and silver bells were hung, which at the blowing of the wind, gave a certain sound." It is said that, in the days of the glories of Pagan, the pagodas and monasteries could be counted by the myriad; even now, the remains of over 5,000 can still be traced.

The Chapter on "the Remains at Pagan" of Yule's "Mission to the Court of Ava in 1855" (pages 30—54) still remains the classical authority on the subject" The information given therein may be supplemented by that given at pages 360—365 of Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture," Volume II, and at pages 215—296 of Scott O'Connor's "Mandalay and other Cities of the Past in Burma." The bibliography given in Appendix II may also be useful in studying the history and architecture of Pagan.

Note for Tourists.

Express steamers, which ply up and down the Irrawaddy river twice a week, do not touch actually at Pagan, but at Nyaung-u, which is 5 miles distant from the Pagan Circuit House. There is a good Circuit House at Nyaung-u, where the Post and Telegraph Offices are situated. At both Circuit Houses, the *Khansamah* can supply meals. Ferry boats, which start from Myingyan, call daily at Nyaung-u and Pagan (Sundays excepted), and Pagan can be reached from Nyaung-u by these boats. The journey may also be made by country-boats, by bullock carts, or on horse-back, according to the inclination of the tourists. From Rangoon, Pagan may be visited *via* Prome or Mandalay, the journey between Rangoon and Prome or Mandalay being by railway and that between Prome or Mandalay and Nyaung-u by steamer.

A map of Nyaung-u and Pagan, lists of villages and pagodas, short accounts of the latter, a note on Burmese Archæology and a bibliography are appended.

Scheme for Sight-seeing.

First Day—Nyaung-u.

Morning: Kôndawgyi Pagoda (No. 4), Thetkyamuni Pagoda (No. 5), and Kyaukku Ônhmin (No. 1).

Evening: Sapada Pagoda (No. 8), Shwezigôn Pagoda (No. 6), Kyanzittha's Ônhmin in the Nattaung Monastery (No. 7).

Second Day—Pagan.

Morning: Tilominlo (No. 9), Upali Thein (No. 10), Ananda and Museum (No. 11), and Sarabha Gateway (No. 12).

Evening: Mimalaung Gyaung (No. 20), Ngakywènadaung (No. 18), Pato-tha-mya (No. 19), Thatbyinnyu (No. 13), Bidagat Taik (Library) (No. 14), Shwegugyi (No. 15), Mahabodhi (No. 24), Gawdawpalin (No. 21) and Bupaya (No. 22).

Third Day—Myinpagan and Thiyipyitsaya.

Morning: Mingalazedi (No. 27), Myinkaba (No. 29), Manuha (No. 30), Nanpaya (No. 31), Nagayôn (No. 32), Eastern and Western Petleik (Nos. 37 and 38) and Lawkananda (No. 39).

Evening: Shwesandaw (No. 25), Damayangyi (No. 42) and Sulamani (No. 40).

It is best to have ponies while sight-seeing at Nyaung-u and Pagan.

If time permits, the remaining pagodas may be visited.

List of Villages.

I. Nyaung-u
II. Pagan
III. Myinpagan
IV. Thiyipyitsaya
V. Pwazaw.
VI. Minnanthu.

(I.–IV.) Bounded on the west by the River Irrawaddy.

List of Monuments.

I. Nyaung-u.

1. Kyaukku Ônhmin.
2. Thamihwet Ônhmin.
3. Hmyathat Ônhmin.
4. Kôndawgyi Pagoda.
5. Thetkyamuni Pagoda.
6. Shwezigôn Pagoda.
7. Kyanzittha's Ônhmin in the Nattaung Monastery.
8. Sapada Pagoda.

II. Pagan.

9. Tilominlo Pagoda.
10. Upali Thein.
11. Ananda Pagoda.
12. Sarabha Gateway.
13. Thatbyinnyu Pagoda.
14. Bidagat Taik or Library.
15. Shwegugyi Pagoda.
16. Thandawgya Image.
17. Nathlaung Kyaung Temple.
18. Ngakywènadaung Pagoda.
19. Pato-tha-mya Pagoda.
20. Mimalaung Gyaung Temple.
21. Gawdawpalin Pagoda.
22. Bupaya Pagoda.
23. Pebingyaung Pagoda.
24. Mahābodhi Pagoda.
25. Shwesandaw Pagoda.
26. Shinbinthalyaung or Recumbent Image of Buddha.
27. Mingalazedi Pagoda.

III. Myinpagan.

28. Kubyaukkyi Temple.
29. Myinkaba Pagoda.
30. Manuha Temple.
31. Nanpaya Temple.
32. Nagayôn Pagoda.
33. Abèyadanā Temple.
34. Pawdawmu Pagoda.
35. Seinnyet Ama.
36. Seinnyet Nyima.

IV. Thiyipyitsaya.

37. East Petleik Pagoda.
38. West Petleik Pagoda.
39. Lawkananda Pagoda.

V. and VI. Pwazaw and Minnanthu.

40. Sulamani Pagoda.
41. Damayazaka Pagoda.
42. Damayangyi Pagoda.

Archæological Notes on Pagan.

MONUMENTS AT NYAUNG-U.

1. Kyaukku Ônhmin Cave Temple.

This building is situated two miles to the east of Nyaung-u and is a structure of unique architecture. It contains one inscription, frescoes, and six stone figures representing scenes in Buddha's life. The first chapter of Dr. Forchhammer's Report on Pagan describes this temple. It says: "Narapatisithu erected only the upper two storeys in the 12th and Narasihapati the lateral terraces in the 13th century, but the lower seems to have existed before Anawrata (11th century). I believe the Kyaukku Temple to be, like the Mahāmuni shrine in Arakan, a remnant of North Indian Buddhism, which existed in Burma before the introduction and establishment of the Southern Buddhist School from Ceylon and Thatôn. The Kyaukku Temple is often mentioned in Pagan History; it was the refuge of fugitive priests, Kings and nobles, long after the conquest of Pagan by the Chinese and Shans. But all mention of it ceases with the death of the renowned monk Ariyadhamma, who inhabited the cave-temple till the year 998 B.E.

(1637 A.D.)" The temple is built against the precipitous side of a deep ravine. It was originally dedicated as the residence of the celebrated Paṁsukula-Mahāthera by King Narapatisithu in 1188 A.D.

2 and 3. Thamihwet Ônhmin and Hmyathat Ônhmin (Cave Temples).

These structures are situated about half a mile to the south-east of Nyaung-u. They are subterranean passages, which were used as residences by Buddhist monks, in the almost torrid climate of Pagan. They are the Burmese counterpart of the cave-temples in India. The Thamihwet Ônhmin is a cave formed by digging into the side of a hill, and contains a stone inscription, frescoes and an image of Buddha. The Hmyathat Ônhmin contains a stone inscription, and its principal feature is a zigzag corridor running throughout its length. The caves were constructed about the beginning of the 13th century A.D. They were in a fairly good condition up to the time of the British annexation of Upper Burma, as pilgrims used to resort to them for sight-seeing.

4. Kôndawgyi Pagoda.

Situated close to Thetkyamuni (*vide* No. 5); appears to have been built a century later; and adorned with frescoes depicting the *Jātaka* stories.

5. Thetkyamuni Pagoda.

Situated at Chaukpala, Nyaung-u; appears to have been built in the 12th century A.D.; and adorned with exquisite carvings in plaster, and with frescoes depicting scenes in the life of Asoka, the Convenor of the Third Buddhist Council.

6. Shwezigôn Pagoda.

It is a solid, cylindrical structure quite distinct in its style of architecture from others and is a prototype of similar structures in Burma. It was built by King Anawrata (1044—1077 A.D.), who left it in an unfinished state, and completed by King Kyanzittha (1084—1112 A.D.). Around the terraces of the pagoda, there are, set in panels, enamelled plaques illustrating scenes in the previous lives of the Buddha. It is believed to contain the frontal bone and a tooth of the Buddha, and is thus held in great veneration by the Buddhists of the whole of Burma. At the north-east corner of the platform there are, placed in a shed, figures of the 37 *Nats* or spirits, which were the pre-Buddhistic deities of Burma. There is an annual festival held in honour of the pagoda.

7. Kyanzittha Ônhmin or Cave Temple in Nattaung Monastery.

Its frescoes dating from the 11th century A.D. constitute the earliest mural paintings extant at Pagan.

Burma, Malaysia, etc. It is the language of the Carnatic from Madras to Cape Comorin. Andhra, or Telugu, spoken by some twenty-four million people, is the language of the Carnatic and Northern Circars from Madras to Ganjam; Canarese (ten and a half millions) has a great range on the Deccan and is the official language of the state of Mysore; Malayalam is the language of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar, and is spoken by some seven millions. These are the four chief Dravidian languages. Each of the three last has borrowed words to a much larger extent than Tamil from Sanscritic languages. The remaining eleven Dravidian languages have no literary importance.

To the general rule that Dravidian languages belong to the south of India there is one remarkable exception. Brahui is isolated and far separated from its kin, having its locale in Baluchistan. The tribes that speak Brahui resemble to a considerable extent the people of South India in physical characteristics and

temperament, and show a marked contrast to their neighbours, so that it is clear that in their case affinity of language is the result of affinity of race. This is a fact of considerable significance in reference to the question of Dravidian origins. But in India proper it is impossible to find any definite ethnological boundary between the Dravidians of the south and other Indian people. Apart from jungle tribes there is a gradual transition of average type from the extreme south-east to the extreme north-west. Apart from certain fishing castes and certain primitive hill and jungle tribes, which latter are hypothetically classed by some as proto-Dravidians, and by others, perhaps more accurately, as pre-Dravidians, and who appear to have acquired Dravidian languages by contact with Dravidian neighbours, the various folk who speak Dravidian languages show close racial affinity among themselves. This justifies us in using what would otherwise be the question begging term "the Dravidian Race," which we may define

Buddhas of the present world cycle, and also an image of Kyanzittha, its founder. Its plan which is in the form of a Greek cross, and its architecture, which recalls the days of Jainism, are unique.

Close to the Ananda is the Museum, which contains exhibits illustrating the iconography, architecture, and religious history of Pagan.

12. Sarabha Gateway.

The gate is the only remnant of the circuit wall built, in the 9th century, by Pyinbya, the 33rd King of the Pagan dynasty. The entrance to it is guarded by two guardian spirits or *Nats*—brother and sister—each of whose image is deposited in a masonry shrine. The sister, who appears to be the senior, is on the left of the gateway, and occupies a higher pedestal. They are still held in reverence by the people of Pagan and its neighbourhood. Their origin is obscure, but they are said to represent the Popa Maungdaw and Hnamadaw (brother and sister *Nats* of Popa Hill), who are the Mahāgīri *Nats*, that is to say, Maung Tindè and his sister, Thônbanhla or Shwe Myet-hnā, who reside on Popa Hill, the Olympus of Burma. The oracles of the Mahāgīri *Nats* were as celebrated in the palmy days of the Pagan Empire as were those of Olympus itself.

13. Thatbyinnyu.

"Thatbyinnyu" signifies "omniscience," and is one of the attributes of Buddha. The pagoda

was built by King Alaungsithu in 1144 A.D., after the model of temples in Northern India. It has five storeys: the first and second were used as the residence of monks; images were kept on the third; the fourth was used as a library; and on the fifth was constructed a pagoda containing holy relics. The building is thus a combination of a *stūpa* and *vihāra*, and its history is recorded on its walls.

4. Bidagat Taik or Library.

Built, in 1058 A.D., by Anawrata to house the thirty elephant-loads of the Buddhist scriptures in Pāli, which he brought away from Thatôn, and repaired, in 1783 A.D., by King Bodawpaya of the Alompra dynasty. It is lighted by perforated stone windows. Its chief peculiarity is its approximate simulation of architectural forms in wood in that it is covered by five multiple roofs surmounted by a *dubika*, like the Mandalay Palace Spire, and ornamented with peacock-like finials in plaster carving.

5. Shwegugyi.

Built by King Alaungsithu in 1141 A.D., after the model of the "sleeping chamber" of Buddha. Its history is recorded on its walls and also, in Pāli, on a stone. The lithic inscription is celebrated for the style and elegance of its composition, thereby indicating the high culture and refinement of that period.

6. Thandawgya Image.

It is a sitting image of Gautama Buddha built of stone slabs and deposited in a masonry temple now in ruins. It is situated a little to the north of the Thatbyinnyu Pagoda and was erected by Tayôkpyemin, the "King who fled from the Chinese," in 1284 A.D., and who also built the Mingalazedi Pagoda. His palace was a few hundred yards to the west of it, and the building was used as a chapel for private devotion. Burmese art and architecture reached their climax in his reign, and were shattered by the cataclysm of the Chinese invasion from which they never recovered. This building is, therefore, one of the interesting vestiges of a by-gone age and civilization. The temple faces west, because the Royal Palace was situated in that quarter.

7. Nat-Hlaung-Gyaung Temple.

Supposed to be built by King Taungthugyi in 931 A.D., *i.e.*, over a century before the introduction of the Southern School of Buddhism from Thatôn. It is the only Hindu Temple now existing at Pagan. As it is dedicated to Vishnu, it is decorated, on the outside, with stone figures of the "Ten Avatars," Gautama Buddha being the Ninth.

8. Ngakywènadaung Pagoda.

According to tradition, one of the five pagodas built by King Taungthugyi in the 10th century

A.D., that is to say, before Pagan fell under the influence of the Southern School of Buddhism. It is covered with green glazed tiles and is of an elongated bulbous shape, which bespeaks its great antiquity.

9. Pato-tha-mya.

One of the five pagodas built by King Taungthugyi in the 10th century A.D. Its walls are decorated with frescoes.

0. Mi-malaung Gyaung Temple.

Built by King Narapatisithu in 1174 A.D., and its architectural form is quite unique. It consists of a small square temple with three multiple roofs ornamented with peacock-like finials at the corners, and is surmounted by a small spiral pagoda about 10 feet high. The whole structure rests on a high, rectangular plinth, thereby securing it from any risk from fire or flood.

. Gawdawpalin.

The Gawdawpalin Pagoda was built by King Narapatisithu, who reigned from 1194 to 1231 A.D. in order to commemorate the ceremony of paying homage to the *manes* of his ancestors. Its history is recorded on a stone inscription. Ancestral worship prevailed in the Burmese Palace up to the time of the British occupation of Mandalay in 1885, golden images being made of each King and his Chief Queen.

. Bupaya Pagoda

This pagoda was built by Pyusawdi, the third King of Pagan, who reigned in 168—243 A.D., on a spot where, according to tradition, grew a gigantic *Bu* or gourd creeper. Its luxuriant and persistent growth proved a serious obstacle to the extension of the cultivation of cereals in those days, and its complete eradication was ascribed to the efforts of Pyusawdi, who subsequently became the son-in-law and heir of King Thamôkdayit, the Founder of Pagan. To commemorate the event, the Pagoda was built by Pyusawdi. It has been repaired and renovated by successive kings. It stands on the river bank at Pagan, and is a conspicuous object and landmark to navigators on the Irrawaddy. Within its precincts is a shrine dedicated to the "*Nat* or God of Storms" (Môndaing *Nat*).

3. Pebingyaung Pagoda.

Tradition ascribes this Pagoda to the 10th century A.D. It is a shrine of unpretentious dimensions of Singhalese type, with a large bell-shaped dome surmounted by a box-shaped structure generally known as *dhātu-garbha* or relic-chamber, which, in its turn, is crowned by a *sikhara*. The terraces on which the dome rests are very low.

Its architectural forms appear to show that it is older than the Sapada Pagoda (*vide* No. 8), which was built in the 12th century A.D.

4. Mahābodhi.

This Pagoda was built by Nandaungmya (1231—1254 A.D.), after the model of the Temple at Bodh Gaya in Bengal, and is the only specimen of its class to be found in Burma.

5. Shwesandaw Pagoda.

The first Pagoda built by King Anawrata, after his conquest of Thatôn in the 11th century A.D. It is said that some sacred hairs of Gautama Buddha, which were obtained from the Talaing country, were enshrined in it. The Pagoda is also known as the Mahāpeinnè or Ganesha Pagoda, from the fact that each of the four corners of its lowest terrace is guarded by three Hindu gods Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, the third being often identified with Ganesha. In the Burmese time, the shrine enjoyed a yearly revenue of Rs. 5,000 derived from its endowments. In 1882, however, the rents were appropriated by the Burmese Government for the Public service, and it fell into a state of disrepair. The villagers of Kyaunggyi Ngaywa, in the Pakôkku District, where its *wuttagan* lands are situated, still make to the Pagoda offerings of their first fruits.

26. Shinbinthalyaung or recumbent image of Buddha.

Within the precincts of the Shwesandaw Pagoda (No. 25), there is, in a brick shed, a colossal recumbent image of the Buddha. Unlike

the recumbent Image of the Buddha in the Manuhā Temple at Myinpagan, its head points to the South, whereas the latter points to the North, a position assumed by Gautama Buddha when he was lying on his death-bed between two *Sāl* trees at Kusināgara.

The date of this image is not known; but, from its close resemblance, in its facial expression, to the colossal images of the Buddha on the platform of the Shwezigôn Pagoda and in the Ananda Temple, it may be assumed that it was built in the 11th century A.D.

7. Mingalazedi.

This Pagoda was built by Tayôkpyemin (1275—1300 A.D.), and is noted for its beautiful terra-cotta tiles. It indicates the high water-mark of Burmese religious architecture, because it was constructed a few decades before the subversion of the Pagan Empire by the Mongols.

MONUMENTS AT MYINPAGAN.

8. Kubyaukkyi Temple.

Built, in the 11th century A.D., by King Kyanzittha. It is square in plan with a portico or *mandapā* projecting on the east face. *A sikhara*, resting on three terraces, surmounts the square basement below, the walls of which are ornamented with frescoes and plaster carvings, some of which are still in a very good state of preservation. The interior of the building, around which runs a

vaulted corridor adorned with niches enshrining images of the Buddha in stone, is lighted by stone windows, on which are incised geometrical designs of fine proportions.

9. Myinkaba Pagoda.

Built by Anawrata, in the 11th century, in order to expiate the crime of killing his predecessor and half-brother, Sôkkade, in battle. It is of bulbous form, and is situated on the Myinkaba *Chaung*, which is so called because Sokkade's corpse came floating down the stream together with its saddle. To the shrine are thus attached interesting historical associations, and its peculiar shape bespeaks its freedom from the influence of the Southern School of Buddhism, which was imported to Pagan after the conquest of Thatôn. It thus constitutes a dividing line between the Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism at Pagan.

30. Manuha Temple.

This Temple is situated at Myinpagan, which is about two miles to the south of Pagan. It was built by Manûhā, the last of the Talaing Kings in 1059 A.D. It contains a recumbent image of gigantic proportions representing Buddha in the act of entering Nirvāna.

3. Nanpaya (Stone Temple).

This building, which is a small structure of exquisite proportions, is situated about two miles to the south of Pagan, and close to the Manuhā

Temple. According to tradition, it was used as the Palace of the Talaing King, Manuhā, when he built that Temple in 1059 A.D. The Nanpaya contains specimens of fine scu lpture in stone The figure of the Brahma is engraved on the pillars, which are adorned with triangular floral designs.

30. Nagayon Pagoda.

This Pagoda is situated at Myinpagan, about 2½ miles to the south of Pagan. It was constructed by Kyanzittha (1084—1112 A.D.). Indian architects were employed. This building is the prototype of the Ananda Temple, and shows the evolution of the latter.

33. Abeyadana Temple.

Kyanzittha, when he was serving under King Sawlu, the son and immediate successor of King Anawrata, incurred the royal displeasure and had to flee for his life. In the course of his flight, he fell asleep on a spot, the site of which is now marked by the Nagayôn Pagoda, and, according to tradition, a serpent shielded him with its hood. His wife, who had brought some food for him, saw the strange phenomenon from a distance, and, not daring to approach the spot where Kyanzittha was lying on the ground, waited for the disappearance of the serpent, which silently glided away. In order to commemorate this event, Kyanzittha had a temple built on this spot, when he had become King in 1084 A.D.

It is a square temple crowned by a *sikhara*. Its walls are ornamented with frescoes. It contains also images of the Buddha in stone placed in niches disposed around the walls of the corridors.

34. Pawdawmu Pagoda.

A small shrine of unique form and architecture, belonging to a period earlier than the 11th century A.D., and constituting an important landmark in the history of Buddhism at Pagan. Its singular architectural details bespeak the religious influences from Northern and Southern India.

35. Seinnyet Ama Temple.

Built in the 11th century A.D., by the Seinnyet Queen in the form of a temple, surmounted by a *sikhara* resting on three terraces. It constitutes a duad with the adjoining Seinnyet Nyima (No. 36).

36. Seinnyet Nyima Pagoda.

A cylindrical structure of the 11th century, which is most interesting both architecturally and historically. On the second terrace guarding the flower vase at each corner, is the figure of a lion whose features are distinctly Chinese, while at each corner of the third terrace, the wings of what looks like a winged dragon remain. On the bell-shaped dome, which is ornamented with ogres

disgorging chaplets of pearls, the small figure of a Buddha of exquisite proportion, sits enshrined in a highly ornamented niche facing each of the cardinal points. Above this is a foliated capital, surmounted by a small *stūpa*, as in the case of Singhalese shrines. The Pagoda represents a distinct stage in the development of Buddhist religious architecture in Burma, and reflects the streams of influences from China, Tibet and Ceylon.

MONUMENTS AT THIYIPYITSAYA.

37 and 38. Petleik-Paya.

(EAST AND WEST).

Date of building unknown; probably about the 10th or 11th century A.D. Both of them are ornamented with terra-cotta tiles of fine workmanship illustrating scenes in the *Jātakas*, or birth stories of the Buddha. The western shrine appears to be older than the eastern.

39. Lawkananda Pagoda.

Built by Anawrata, the hero-King of Burma, in 1059 A.D. A tooth-relic obtained from Ceylon was enshrined in it. The Pagoda is an ancient landmark, because near it were anchored all vessels from Ceylon, Arakan and the Talaing country.

MONUMENTS AT PWAZAW AND MINNANTHU.

40. Sulamani Pagoda.

It is situated about 4 miles to the south-east of Nyaung-u, and contains frescoes, writings on the walls, and two stone inscriptions. It was built by Narapatisithu (1194—1231 A.D.), and resembles the Thatbyinnyu Pagoda in plan.

41. Damayazaka.

Built by King Narapatisithu in 1196 A.D. It is pentagonal at the base, and decorated with beautiful terra-cotta tiles. It has mural writings and inscriptions.

42. Damayangyi Pagoda.

Built by King Narathu (1187—1191 A.D.), who was also called the "Kalagyamin" or the "King killed by the Kalas." While the construction of the Pagoda was in progress, the King was assassinated by some Kalas, who were probably natives of Chittagong, and it was never completed. Most of the arches and the major portion of the structure are still sound. It is the biggest building of the kind in Burma, and attached to it are two inscriptions dated respectively 1205 and 1253 A.D.

APPENDIX I.

Note on Burmese Archaeology.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

THE BURMANS.

The principal races inhabiting Burma are the Shans, Burmans (including the Arakanese), Talaing and the Karens. The first and the last are of no historical importance, nor do they possess any interesting monuments. The history of Burma is then, the history of the Burmans and the Talaings, between whom there were frequent struggles for supremacy.

The Talaings belong to the Mon-Khmer family, which also includes the Cambodians, the scattered tribes of the Khasias in Assam, and the Palaungs and Was in the Northern Shan States. The Mon-Khmer appears to have entered Burma from North-eastern India, as it has left its congeners, the Bhils and Gonds, behind. This race was succeeded by the Pyu (now extinct), Shans and Karens, who came originally from Ssu-ch'uan, Yunnan and Kueichou respectively. These were again succeeded by the Tibeto-Burman tribes of which the Chins are the earlier, and the Marus, Zis, and Lashis of the Kachin hills are the later representatives. The new-comers immigrated into Burma from Eastern Tibet, where the allied tribes, the Lolos (the modern representative of the Pyu), Mantzu and Sifans are still to be found.

Burmese history is very vague, due, no doubt, to the exterminating wars, and to the excessive zeal for vandalism displayed by the victors. There are no traditional histories or national ballads like the Mahābhārata and the Rāmayāna of India, which indicate the ethnic movements and the displacement of the indigenous tribes by the Aryan race.

It will be convenient to deal, first, with the Burmans, the youngest, but more virile and predominant of the races inhabiting Burma. The native chronicles begin with the establishment, in the 9th century B.C., of separate dynasties at Kyaukpadaung (in Arakan) and Tagaung, by two brothers, Kan Yāzāgyi and Kan Yāzāngé. Owing to its geographical isolation, and the poverty of its resources, the elder or Arakanese branch was never destined to play an important rôle in history With fitful periods of independence, it became subject alternately to Burma Proper and Bengal, until it was absorbed into the British Indian Empire in 1824 A.D. To attest, however, to their vicissitudes in their career of development, the Arakanese have left extensive ruins at Akyab, Myohaung, Launggyet, Minbya, Urittaung and Sandoway.

The younger branch was driven by the Shans of Nanch'ao out of Tagaung in the 5th century B.C., to Prome, which even, then, formed the borderland between the Pyu, a cognate Tibeto-Burman tribe and the Talaings of further south. There was intercourse between Prome and Northern India as evidenced by the introduction of the Saka era, which began in 78 A.D., and by the peculiar style of architecture and sculpture, which has been discovered at Hmawza. At the beginning of the 2nd century A.D., owing to Civil War, the seat of power was transferred to Pagan, where, forming a confederacy of 19 Pyu villages, the Pyus and the Burmans cultivated the arts of peace, extended their dominion over surrounding tribes, and entered into political relations with China, Ceylon, and Southern India. The palmiest days of the Burmans, by whom the Pyus had been entirely absorbed in the 12th century A.D., were passed at Pagan where, during twelve centuries, they raised stately piles of architecture, engaged in commerce and industry, and compiled monumental works of learning. The Mongol invasion of 1284 A.D., came to them as a great nervous shock, paralyzing all stimulus and enterprise, from which they scarcely ever recovered.

The following résumé of the chief events in the history of Pagan, between the 3rd and 13th centuries A.D., will be of interest.

3rd century A.D.—Burma was conquered by the Kingdom of Shu, one of the Three Kingdoms, into which China was then divided; and she became tributary to China.

4th century A.D.—The Mahāyānist form of Buddhism was introduced into Burma by Chinese Missionaries, who taught it in Chinese. No Chinese epigraphic remains have, so far, been discovered, with the single exception of the Chinese inscription set up by the Mongols at Pagan in the 13th century A.D.; but there is ample architectural and philological evidence to prove the dominant character of the Chinese influence.

5th—6th centuries A.D.—The Chinese of the South were engaged in an incessant struggle with the Tartars of the North, and Chinese control and influence became considerably weakened, and Burma escaped from the thraldom of Chinese hieroglyphs and ideographs. The Indian form of *Mahāyānism* was introduced by Indian Missionaries from Northern and Eastern India, who taught it in Sanskrit, using the alphabet of the Gupta period.

7th—8th centuries A.D.—The current Burmese era, which began in 638 A.D., was borrowed from China, thereby indicating the paramount character of the Chinese ascendancy. In the 8th century, Nanch'ao, the Shan Kingdom of Talifu, annexed Burma, and became a medium of communication between Tibet and Burma, and Tibetan religious influences penetrated into Pagan.

9th—10th centuries A.D.—Tantrism was introduced from Bengal through Assam and Manipur. Its priests, called the "Ari," favoured Serpent-worship, and the *Jus primae noctis* prevailed amongst them.

11th century A.D.—*Hīnayānism* or Buddhism of the Southern School, whose vehicle is Pāli, was introduced into Pagan after Anawrata's conquest of Thatôn in 1057 A.D. Pagan had latterly received her letters and religion, together

with its sacred Canon in Sanskrit, from Aryan or Northern Indian, while Thatôn and Pegu had received theirs, with the Pāli Canon, from the Dravidians of the South. It was in the 11th century A.D., that the Aryan and Dravidian systems were harmoniously blended at Pagan, and that thence forward Burmese civilization assumed a definite aspect. The above statement is strongly corroborated by the Myazedi Pillar of 1112 A.D., at Pagan, which is inscribed in the Pyu, Pāli, Talaing and Burmese languages, and whose Pyu and Burmese faces manifest the predominance of Sanskritic forms based on a Mahāyānist culture.

12th century A D.—An outburst of architectural energy took place, which lasted from the 11th to the 13th centuries A.D. The most celebrated temples of Pagan, like the Shwezigôn, Ananda, and Manuhā were built during this century.

13th century A.D.—The Mongols under Kublai Khan overran Burma in 1284 A.D. The Burmese Empire broke up and the Shans and Talaings asserted their independence.

The glories achieved by the Burmans at Pagan were never repeated elsewhere. They became subject to Kings of Shan nationality, who reigned at Metkaya, Myinzaing, Panya and Sagaing for 126 years. Even after the foundation of Ava in 1364 A.D., there was a series of usurpations and massacres by Shan Chiefs. A slight recovery in national lustre and glory was made by the Nyaungyan dynasty, which ruled at Ava from 1599 to 1751 A.D., when it was overthrown by the Talaings. Then the dynasty of Alompra succeeded, which ruled from 1753 to 1885 A.D., and witnessed the inevitable process of decay and disintegration due to the growth of luxury, sensuality and sloth, and to the weakening of the religious and moral sense.

The Talaings.

The Talaings established themselves at Thatôn under Sīharājā, who is said to have come over from India and to have died in 543 B.C. There were 59 Kings belonging to his

dynasty, the last being Manuhā, who was conquered by Anawrata and taken captive to Pagan in 1057 A.D. A rival kingdom was set up at Pegu in 573 A.D., which became extinct in 781 A.D. From this time, a blank of about 500 years occurs in the annals of Pegu, during which the names of no native Kings are entered. The Pillars of Victory of Rajendra Chola I, who overran Pegu in 1025—1027 A.D., that is to say, a few years before the conquest of Thatôn by Anawrata, indicate the subjection of Pegu to foreign rule for a lengthened period.

Taking advantage of the disruption of the Burmese Empire caused by the Mongol invasion, Wareru, a Shan adventurer, proclaimed himself King of the Talaings in 1287 A.D., at Martaban. Near the close of the 14th century the capital was removed to Pegu. There were 16 Kings, belonging to this dynasty, of whom Yāzādayit (1385—1423 A.D.) was famous for his warlike exploits against Ava, and Dhammachetī (1460—1491 A.D.), who set up the celebrated Kalyanī Inscription, was noted for his justice, learning and piety. Pegu was absorbed by Toungoo, in 1540 A.D., under Tabin Shwetī, who was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Bayin Naung, the Branginoco of the Portuguese writers, who reigned for 30 years at Pegu. Being the most vigorous and stimulating personality of modern Burmese history, he united both the Burmese and Talaing nationalities under his rule, and his Empire was the most extensive in the Burmese annals. His eldest son, Nanda Bayin or Nga-zu dāyakā, was dethroned and put to death by the King of Toungoo in 1599 A.D.; but, in the same year, his younger son, the Nyaungyan Prince, founded a dynasty at Ava, which was overthrown by the Talaings in 1751 A.D. The Talaing Kingdom of Pegu lingered on till its last King, Byinnya Dala, who subverted the last dynasty of Ava, was in his turn, conquered by Alompra in 1757 A.D., the very year in which the battle of Plassy was fought in Bengal.

HISTORICAL SITES.

Tagaung.

Tagaung, the earliest seat of the Burmese Monarchy, cannot boast of any monuments of antiquity. If any had existed, they must have disappeared during the chronic devastating wars, or through the natural process of decay so favoured by the tropical climate. Terra-cotta tiles bearing the effigy of the Buddha and legends in the ancient *Devanāgarī* character have, however, been found, which may be referred to the Gupta period (319 to 606 A.D.). These finds indicate early intercourse between Tagaung and Gangetic India through Assam and Manipur rather than through Thatôn and Pegu. Systematic excavations may yield interesting results.

Prome.

According to the Burmese Chronicles, Prome or Sriksetra was founded by King Duttabaung, 101 years after the Nirvāna of Buddha, that is, in the year 442 B.C. Its antiquity must be comparatively high as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty (618—907 A.D.) as the Kingdom of the P'iao or Piu, and as it was known to the celebrated Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Thsang and I-tsing, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. Indeed, the latter says: "Southward from this, and close to the sea coast there is a country called Srikshatra." It is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodesh, and the Irrawaddy (Erāvatī) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery, about 23 years ago, at Lèbaw, a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza Railway Station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula "Ye dhammā hetu pabhavā," which is incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script of the 7th—10th century A.D.

Excavations have recently been conducted at a site called Yathemyo, the City of the Hermit, which is five miles to the east of Prome. The ruins consisting of earthen ramparts, walled enclosures, burial-grounds, stone sculptures and pagodas in all stages of decay, are found scattered within, roughly speaking, an area of 400 square miles, that is to say, within a distance of about ten miles in the direction of the cardinal points from the Railway Station as the centre. So far, there are very few data available whereby the finds can be explained. As regards epigraphical evidence, several inscriptions in the Pyu script have been found, which have partly been deciphered by Mr. C. O. Blagden. Kings with Indian names and dates of unascertained eras are mentioned in them. Inscribed votive tablets bearing Sanskrit legends have also been discovered, and they have been referred to the 11th century A.D. There is, however, a certain amount of evidence afforded by the style of the buildings and the stone sculptures. Of the cylindrical-shaped pagodas of ancient date, the best known are the Thaukkyamā, Myinbahu, Bawbawgyi, Payagyi and Payamā. The first has been thoroughly renovated, and has lost all traces of its original form; the upper portion of the second has been modernised, but its lower part still retains some of the features of its ancient architecture. Of the remaining three, whose form bespeaks their leaning towards the Sivaite cult, Bawbawgyi is the best preserved, and Government has undertaken to conserve it. This edifice may be described as a cylindrical dome resting on five receding terraces and crowned with an iron *ti*. It has a slight indentation in the centre, and the upper portion below the *ti* is shaped like a cone, or the termination of a phallic emblem. It is 153 feet high from the natural ground level to the top of the *ti*, and is 240 feet in circumference.

The stone sculptures derive their style from the familiar Gupta work in Northern ndia, and may be assigned to the 7th century A.D., if not earlier. Their characteristic feature is the occurrence of two *chauri*-bearers flanking the Buddha, which appears to claim kinship with the famous paintings and figures in the Ajanta Caves in the Bombay Presidency.

All conceivable forms of Burmese architecture are found at Pagan. The architectural energy of the Burmese Kings lasted for about a thousand years, that is, from the 3rd to the 13th century A.D., and was most active from the 11th to the 13th centuries, owing to the impulse given to it by Anawrata after his conquest of the Talaing Kingdom of Thatôn. The oldest of the shrines appears to be the Ngakywè Nadaung, a tuber-shaped pagoda of no pretentious dimensions, built of green enamelled bricks, and crowned with what looks like a small domed chamber thereby bespeaking its Chinese origin. The Singhalese influence is reflected in the Sapada Pagoda, which was built, in the 12th century A.D., by Sapada, a native of Bassein, who was ordained a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, and who founded a sect at Pagan. Architects from the Dekkhan were evidently employed in the construction of the temples erected in the 11th century A.D., by Manuhā, the captive King of the Talaings, and Kyanzittha, the reputed son of Anawrata. The pose, contour and drapery of the images of the Buddha and the figures sculptured on stone are distinctly South-Indian, as well as the structures, like the Nagayôn and the Ananda, which are square edifices with *Mandapas* or porches, and are provided with vaulted chambers and corridor passages, in which a subdued light gleams from above. The most interesting class of buildings, which would repay a careful study, is, however, that to which the Shwesandaw and Shwezigôn belong. They are solid domes with sharp pinnacles, in which the types of the Indian *Stūpa*, of the Singhalese *Dagoba*, and of other cognate structures, in China, are found combined. There are also Cave Temples constructed after Indian models, built against the precipitous sides of ravines or hollowed out of sand dunes, of which the Kyaukku is the prototype. They were intended to be a combined residence and temple, and served their purpose well in the torrid climate of Pagan. Of the square temples of Pagan, the Ananda and Thatbyinnyu are distinctive types. The former was built by Kyanzittha in 1091 A.D., that is, a little later than the Norman Conquest of

England. It contains Gothic arches and stone sculptures of exquisite workmanship, representing scenes in Gautama Buddha's life, and terra-cotta tiles representing scenes in the previous existences of the Buddha. It enshrines the images of the four Buddhas of the present world-cycle, and also a portrait statue of Kyanzittha, its founder. Its plan, which is in the form of a Greek Cross, and its architecture, which represents the best specimen of Indian Art, are unique. The term " Thatbyinnyu " signifies " Omniscience, " which is one of the attributes of the Buddha. The Temple was built by King Alaungsithu in 1144 A.D., after the model of temples in Northern India. It has five storeys: the first and second were used as the residence of monks; images were kept on the third; the fourth was used as a library; and on the fifth was constructed a pagoda containing holy relics. The building is thus a combination of a *stūpa* and *vihāra*, and is a deviation from modern custom.

MANDALAY.

Mandalay was the capital of Upper Burma. It was founded in 1857, during the throes of the Indian Mutiny, and was occupied by Mindôn Min two years later. Burmese Kings followed the Tartar custom of changing their capital, whenever blood had been shed or the succession to the throne had been accomplished by means other than peaceful.

Mandalay is the centre of wooden architecture, and wood lends itself to the quaint artistic genius of the Burmese people. The Palace buildings and the Monasteries are fine specimens of an art, which is rapidly passing away. The tall pyramidal spires, the multiple roofs, the flamboyant ornaments, the brilliant mosaic work, and above all, the rich gilding, which flashes gorgeously in the sunlight, have been handed down for long generations, and, for all we know, these might have formed the chief features of the Palaces of Asoka and his successors, of which we have but a faint glimpse from the records of the early Greek Writers.

Sagaing.

Sagaing was the capital of Burma during the 14th and 18th centuries, and contains numerous ruins. The Tupayôn Pagoda built by Narapati, King of Ava, in the 15th century, has been repaired by Government, and over 3 dozen inscriptions have been collected in its vicinity, and preserved in a masonry shed.

Eighteen miles to the north of Sagaing, or nine miles from Mandalay is situated Mingun, a village noted for its huge unfinished Pagoda and its enormous bell, which is the second largest in the world. The Pagoda covers an area of about 450 feet square, and its height is 162 feet, or one-third of the height originally intended. It was rent by the great earthquake of 1838. It was built by Bodawpaya (1781—1819), who spent more than twenty years on its construction. The bell was cast, in 1790, by the same King to be dedicated to the Pagoda. Its weight is about 80 tons, or one-third of that at Moscow and fourteen times of that of St. Paul's. Its supports were destroyed by the earthquake of 1838, and it rested on the ground till 1896, when it was raised, slung on an iron beam, and placed in a suitable shed, under the supervision of the Deputy Commissioner, Sagaing. Its principal dimensions are :—

		Feet.	*Inches.*
External diameter at the lip	...	16	3
Internal diameter	...	10	0
Interior height	...	11	6
Exterior height	...	12	0

The thickness of metal varies from six to twelve inches.

Rangoon.

Rangoon was called Dagôn by the Talaings. In 1755, Alompra took Syriam after a protracted siege, and changed "Dagôn" to "Yangôn" (Rangoon), that is "end of the war." Ever since then it rose in commercial importance till it has now become the third port in the Indian Empire.

There are few monuments of archæological interest at Rangoon as it was never the capital of a Kingdom. The

Shwedagôn and Sule Pagodas are the most interesting. It is said that, in the former, were enshrined the eight hairs of Gautama Buddha in 588 B.C. The shrine has been renovated several times till it has reached a height of 300 feet. According to local tradition, the latter monument marks the site of the temple of the Sule *Nat* (Spirit), who pointed out the hill where the eight hairs of the Buddha should be deposited. Its characteristic feature is its octagonal shape, which appears to indicate Chinese influence. In China, where symbolism is much practised, the *pa-kua* or octagon, which is formed by joining the ends of the intersecting four straight lines indicating the cardinal and intermediate points, represents the earth, while a circle, indicating the skyey dome, represents heaven.

PEGU.

Pegu was the capital of the Talaing Kingdom from 573 to 781 A.D., and again from the 13th to the 16th centuries, and attained its height of grandeur and magnificence during the reigns of Tabin Shwetī (1540—1550) and Bayin Naung (1551—1581), who were Burmese Kings of Toungoo.

Extensive ruins are extant on the east and west face of the town. The ruins at Zaingganaing, on the west side comprise those of the Kalyanī Thein, Mahāzedi, Kyaikpun and Shwekugyi. Between the Kalyanī Thein and Mahāzedi is an enormous image of Gautama Buddha in a recumbent posture measuring about 181 feet in length.

The religious buildings at Pegu suffered greatly at the hands of the Portuguese adventurer, Phillip de Brito Y Nicote, *alias* Maung Zingā, who held his Court at Syriam at the beginning of the 17th century, and also at the hands of Alompra's soldiery, who, being incensed at the acts of sacrilege committed by the Talaings during their ephemeral conquest of Burma Proper, wreaked their vengeance when their turn came.

On the eastern face, the Shwehmawdaw is the most celebrated building. It is said to contain two hairs of Gautama Buddha. Like the Shwedagôn Pagoda at Rangoon,

it is a Buddhist shrine of great sanctity. Successive Kings of Burma and Pegu lavished their treasures in repairing and enlarging it. When originally built it was only 75 feet high, but as it now stands, it is about 288 feet high, and about 1,350 feet in circumference at the base.

Thatôn.

It is stated in the Talaing Chronicles that Thatôn was the capital from the 6th century B.C. to the 11th century A.D. Such a claim to high antiquity is scarcely supported by the monuments found in the locality. The two most important shrines are the Shwezāyan and Thagyāpayā Pagodas. The terra-cotta tablets inserted in niches in the latter are of considerable interest. Siva, with his trident, is the predominant figure; conveyances are drawn by single ponies, and women wear their hair in big knots at the back of the head. The features of the persons represented are of Mongolian caste, and resemble those of the Karens and Taungthus of the present day.

Numismatics.

The original collection of coins in the Phayre Provincial Museum has been catalogued. Including pieces of silver bullion, it consists of 76 typical coins, which have been classified, according to nationality, as follows: Arakanese, 16; Burmese, 8; Indian, 48; Siamese, 1; Chinese, 2; and European, 1. Burmese coinage dates only from the reign of Bodawpaya (1781—1819 A.D.), and few Burmese coins are, therefore, extant. Both Arakanese and Burmese coins, however, appear to have been primarily intended for a commemorative purpose, being struck in the first regnal year of Kings, or to be deposited in the relic-chambers of pagodas. Their use as currency was an afterthought, borrowed from India, where the idea that coinage for currency was an act of the State, arose, after contact with Western nations.

APPENDIX II.

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LIST OF MONUMENTS

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1. *Kyaukku-Ônhmin*
2. *Thamiwhet-Ônhmin*
3. *Hmyathat-Ônhmin*
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5. *Thetkyamuni Pagoda*
6. *Shwezigôn Pagoda*
7. *Kyanzittha's Ônhmin in the Nattaung Monastery*
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40. *Sulamani Pagoda*
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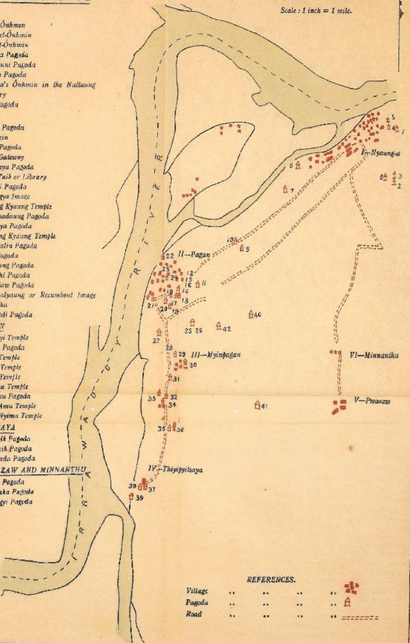
42. *Damayangyi Pagoda*

PAGAN AND ENVIRONS

Scale : 1 inch = 1 mile.



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